

THE NATION

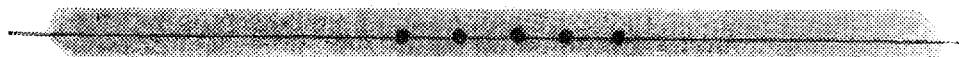
JANUARY 7, 1961 . . 25c



For the Kennedy Agenda

FIRST STEPS to BETTER SCHOOLS

Myron Lieberman



GUATEMALA'S SECRET AIRSTRIP

Don Dwiggins

DEATH KNELL of 'ALGERIE FRANCAISE'

Alexander Werth



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LETTERS

Automation Pluses . . .

Dear Sirs: Charles C. Killingsworth's article on automation ["Three Myths of Automation," Dec. 17 issue] was very interesting and I certainly agree with his conclusion that an extensive study of the effects of automation is badly needed. I have recommended such a program for some years.

However, I must take issue with his statement that "a very substantial part of the cost savings from automation usually results from displacement of labor in one form or another." It is unfortunately true that many companies undertake the investment in automation in the belief that it can be paid for in labor savings; however, they are often disappointed and, what is worse, miss the real benefits inherent in automation. For more and more automation technology is being used to perform new functions previously impossible—such as using computers to supply "what would happen if" answers to business decision problems; or controlling variables in processing industries so as to optimize production and quality to a degree previously impossible. Automation also means accurate long-range weather prediction, automatic road guidance of automobiles, and startling new techniques for medical diagnosis.

None of these involves the displacement of labor; all involve the use of the unique capabilities of automation. It is in these areas I expect to see the fullest exploitation of this new technology.

Though I agree we must plan to prevent human hardship from the introduction of this new technology, we must not lose sight of the tremendous benefits to society inherent in automation.

JOHN DIEBOLD

New York City

[John Diebold, a management consultant, has written extensively on automation, including a series of three articles which appeared in The Nation of Sept. 19, Sept. 26 and October 3, 1953.—Ed.]

. . . And the Danger

Dear Sirs: Both clarity and candor are manifest in Mr. Killingsworth's evaluation of the "myths" of automation. It is refreshing to be reminded that cost savings generally involve some displacement of labor, that labor mobility is not automatic as a transfer-machine, that in the short-run, that skills can be created, and that what we

have seen of automation in the past decade may be a trickle by comparison to what is to come. We share his lack of complacency in these matters. . . .

Already we are facing serious job losses in steel and other industries because of automation and technological changes. We endorse the author's recommendation for detailed studies of the employment effect of automation in specific industries, but would broaden it to include all forms of technological change.

OTIS BRUBAKER, Director
Research Department
United Steelworkers of America

Support for a Martyr

Dear Sirs: The article on Ashton Jones ("Perils of Brotherhood," by Harold Flender, Dec. 24) should be reprinted. . . . So many people, North and South, believe that gradualism and education are all that are needed to solve our race problems. The Jones article shows the ugly union often found between the forces of law and those beyond the law.

Ashton Jones is not a rabble-rouser or "nut." He is, of course, a zealot, or he would not expose himself to the martyrdom which is his lot. It will be a sorry day for this country when he and his like are not defended.

HOWARD S. WHITESIDE

Boston, Mass.

Campaign for Freedom

Dear Sirs: "Libertarian principles seldom win vindication these days in the Supreme Court," observed Prof. Daniel Berman in his report of the Carl Braden-Frank Wilkinson hearing. "Braden is being persecuted for his devotion to integration and civil liberties. . . . Wilkinson is being punished for leading a nation-wide campaign to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee."

Pursuant to Justice Frankfurter's admonition, "The past is against you. Maybe the future is for you," the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee calls on all liberty-loving, peace-minded citizens to heed the challenge. Congressman James Roosevelt plans to introduce a resolution to rescind the mandate of the Un-American Activities Committee when Congress reconvenes.

1. Write him in support (House Office Building, Washington, D.C.).
2. Write and visit your Congressman urging his support of Roosevelt's resolution.
3. Petitions are available from the N.Y. Council to Abolish the Un-American

Activities Committee, (106 East 208 Street, Bronx, N.Y.).

4. Send us your contribution. Funds are essential for the success of this campaign. Make checks payable to Robert Kenny, Treasurer, National Comm. to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, and send to 617 No. Larchmont Ave., Los Angeles 4, Calif.

AUBREY WILLIAMS
Chairman

Montgomery, Ala.

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EDITORIALS

Asylum or Staging Ground?

Early in December, President Eisenhower invoked the Mutual Security Act to aid Cuban refugees in the United States, almost all of whom have congregated in Miami. He could have allocated the \$1 million from his contingency fund without resorting to the amendment which authorized relief, resettlement and education for "people enslaved by communism," but he chose the more severe course of officially labeling Cuba as "Communist-controlled." This may have been unnecessary provocation, but it was legal. However, recent news stories from Miami suggest that the right of asylum, which should be liberally construed — there are 30,000 or more refugees, many of them without funds or means of support — is being grossly abused. According to the *Miami Herald* (December 25), twenty-three young Americans and 200 Cubans are making "final preparations" to invade Cuba. The *Herald* gives the names, ages and home towns of some of the Americans, along with pictures of soldiers in guerrilla uniforms in training (including hand-to-hand combat with knives). Others are carrying what appear to be sub-machine guns.

There is, of course, a large element of bluff and bravado about this and similar stories of guerrilla forces training in Florida. But it should be remembered that Castro invaded Cuba with a force no larger than the one so ostentatiously drilling in Miami. And recent acts of terrorism in Havana, such as daylight bombings of power plants, as well as the story in this issue (page 7) of the mysterious airstrip in Guatemala, lend credence to the notion that the reports from Miami Beach cannot safely be discounted.

Of more immediate concern, however, is the misuse of the right of asylum. Staging operations, even of the mock-heroic variety reported by the *Miami Herald*, are clearly in violation of existing federal statutes. Are these provocative acts ignored because Washington wants to step up its war-of-nerves against the Castro regime, or does a state of undeclared war prevail at the moment between the United States and Cuba? If we are still at peace with Cuba, as most Americans would assume, then the more belligerent of the refugees should

be told to put aside their knives and sub-machine guns. Undeclared wars are anomalous, dangerous and confusing, both at home and abroad.

Neutrality, American Style

The Russians have been airlifting supplies to the retreating leftist forces of Captain Kong Le in Laos. This is of course a violation of Laotian sovereignty and shows that the Soviet Union does not observe a befitting neutrality in the Laotian civil war. The United States, on the other hand, has poured \$300 million in economic and military aid into Laos in an effort, as *The Wall Street Journal* puts it, "to build up its economy and keep the Reds at bay." With American arms and encouragement, the right-wing rebel, General Phoumi Nosavan, overthrew the neutralist government of Prince Souvanna Phouma and installed Nosavan's puppet, Prince Boun Oum. This is not intervention, but scrupulous neutrality and defense of the freedom-loving and peaceful nations of the West. This is the way American military diplomacy maneuvers as the year 1960 draws to a close.

But will it succeed? The outlook, according to American, anti-Communist observers on the ground, is highly dubious. The Russian and North Vietnamese governments have so far taken only cautious steps, but the Communist Chinese, the chief soreheads of Asia and also the chief military power, may regard their interests as directly at stake. If so, we may find ourselves engaged in another Korean-type "police action," presumably again under United Nations auspices, which may prove even more unpopular in the West than the first one was. There are other shaky factors in the situation. In Washington, General Nosavan may be the fair-haired boy, but the closer one gets to him, the more he is detested. Even American officials in Vientiane, the recently shot-up but liberated capital, loathe and distrust this political general, who, by rigging the April, 1960, elections, precipitated the military coup which brought the neutralist Souvanna Phouma government to power. Souvanna Phouma had the temerity to take a known Communist, Quinim Pholensa, into his Cabinet as Information Minister and to ope

diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. If any doubt remained, this was cause enough for Washington to pull the rug out from under the insolent neutralist. As one American expert put it, "Once you get a coalition government that includes Communists you've got communism."

A winner-take-all policy of the type we are pursuing in Laos can only be justified in terms of expediency; and it is expedient only if it succeeds. At the moment the odds against success, as reckoned by those on the spot, are not good. Before we become irretrievably committed, therefore, it might be a good idea if we were to adopt the Anglo-Indian suggestion which would allow the return to Laos of the international supervisory commission (India, Poland and Canada) which was established after the fighting between the French and the North Vietnamese ended in 1954. It is all very well to speak softly and carry a big stick, but in Laos the big stick — the bomb — is much too big; and, if it came to matching small sticks with the Chinese, we might be at no great advantage. We tried that once before, in Korea, and had to settle for a draw.

The Landis Report

There is little that is novel in the Landis report on the regulatory agencies. It repeats with more sharpness than usual the familiar indictment; one would have to search long and hard these days to find an informed observer who was satisfied with the performance of these agencies. But the very unanimity of the criticism and its preoccupation with procedural gimmicks may obscure a few essential truths. That the regulatory agencies suffer from administrative and organizational defects is obvious. In many agencies, the commissioners are so burdened with administrative detail and the conduct of hearings that they have little time for the basic tasks of planning and policy-making. But the basic problem lies elsewhere. The legislative histories make clear that these agencies were designed as watchdogs, or guardians, of the public interest and, in the context, "public interest" is virtually synonymous with consumer interest. Yet, as Senator Aiken has observed, "It takes almost superhuman powers on the part of a commissioner, after he has been in office a certain amount of time, not to promote the business he is supposed to regulate instead of regulating it." Indicative of this tendency is the reference by two recent ICC commissioners to the railroads as their "clients." From "protecting the public interest" to "promoting the industry" is a transition easily effected by commissioners drawn from the ranks of industry or, as is more often the case, by lame-duck political appointees greedy for commissionerships as stepping stones to industry jobs.

In a sense, personnel is the essential problem with

all agencies of government; with the regulatory agencies it has a special relevance. The federal courts are protected against improper influences and pressures by a well-established tradition which, by and large, is respected by all interested parties. But no such tradition protects the regulatory agencies; they are fair game for pressure groups and influence peddlers. Congressmen cannot practice before the agencies, but they can "contact" commissioners, and the record shows that they have not been bashful in their approaches. Spokesmen for the regulated industries swarm about the commissioners. Phone calls and memos reach them from the White House staff. Party leaders "contact" them. The prizes which these agencies can bestow—increases in natural-gas rates, TV licenses, etc.—are windfalls of enormous value. The public condemns any attempt to influence courts or bribe officials, but takes a lenient view of attempts to "persuade" commissioners.

In large part, therefore, the problem with the regulatory agencies is to establish a semi-judicial tradition which the public will understand and respect. The Landis report skirts this issue. Perhaps President Kennedy's legal advisers can assist him in establishing such a tradition. For example: Should the President insist that the agencies list in their public files all communications from legislators on pending matters? Should commissioners be asked to make public disclosure of all their investments, as well as all actual and potential sources of private income subsequent to their appointments? Such provisions, supported by repeated public statements from the White House, might assist in building a tradition of devotion to the consumer interest which all interested parties, and the general public, would in time learn to respect.

The Next Explosion in Africa

The Congo, the Belgian colony whose loss has upset the Belgian economy, is much in the news. Every American who reads the papers or looks at TV knows how bad things are in the Congo for the Congolese, the Belgians and the United Nations. But, so complex are events and so poor are communications — at least where serious matters are concerned — that not one American in a hundred is thinking about Mozambique and Angola. Yet there the next colonial explosion is being prepared; it may be bigger than the Congo's.

The Portuguese own Mozambique, bordering the Union of South Africa on the east coast of Africa, and Angola, on the west, adjacent to the Congo. Portugal, Britain's oldest ally, is a dictatorship, but the rule of Portuguese big business, the Church and António de Oliveira Salazar somehow does not disturb Western sensibilities as does Communist dictatorship. The fact that the West is so complacent will not, however, avert the coming showdown.

Outwardly the Portuguese colonies are peaceful, on the basis of a formula for race relations which *Time* (January 2, 1961) summarizes: "keep the natives illiterate, keep them working, keep them scared." Education is open to all, but education costs money; consequently in all Angola there are only 200 Africans in high school, and in Mozambique just fifty; only one Mozambique native has gone to college — he won a prize in a lottery. For the overwhelming mass of poor natives, there is nothing ahead but a lifetime of menial labor, much of it forced. The government rounds up tens of thousands of blacks annually and assigns them to public works projects at wages of \$2 to \$5 a month. For those who protest, there are whippings, labor camps and, if need be, massacres. In the *London Peace News*, Fenner Brockway, MP, cites reports from Angola that the colony appears to be under military occupation, complete with military exercises with napalm bombs.

That such unpleasant facts are not emphasized in the West is understandable. Portugal is not only Britain's good friend, but a member of NATO. And the Portuguese are tough. "We have been here 500 years," a top Portuguese is quoted in *Time*. "We will stay another 500 years, and we don't care particularly how we do it." Well, the Belgians were tough too, and Hitler's empire was to last 1,000 years. Adolf didn't care particularly how he did things either, but that proved no help, to him or his allies, when the roof fell in.

Ethical Payola

The subtleties of what used to be known as common honesty continue to furrow the brows of business leaders and public servants. Stripped to its essentials, the problem is to select and present a gift in a way to make the recipient feel well-disposed toward the donor, but yet to give a third party no opportunity for charging bribery. The transaction is one to challenge the best abilities of social scientists and formal logicians, and trained academic minds are about to be applied to it.

The manufacture of merchandise for commercial largesse has become so considerable an industry that the firms involved have formed their own trade association — the Advertising Specialty National Association. This body, in turn, has set up a public relations, auxiliary known as the Business Goodwill Advisory Council, and Business Goodwill has retained the public relations firm of Ruder & Finn to advise on principles and strategy. Predictably, one of the first steps taken by R & F has been to organize a seminar. This congress, composed of religious leaders, philosophers, sociologists and psychologists, will assemble early in 1961 to draft rules for the ethical distribution of gifts.

To give a notion of what is at stake: business firms in Washington alone spent \$1.5 million to \$2 million

on tinsel-wrapped packages last month. Not so much liquor is being handed out as in former years—booze has an unfortunately convivial connotation. The popular items currently are knife sets, cigarette lighters, food delicacies and luggage. These are all distributed in fifty- or a hundred-unit lots as expressions of mass benevolence. Vicuna wraps, refrigerators and holidays at sub-tropical resorts, if still in vogue, are supplied on an individual basis.

In the Name of Obedience

Sir Charles P. Snow told the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science last week that within about six years a dozen or more nations will be capable of building atomic bombs. If verification was needed, the French provided it on the same day by exploding a nuclear device — their third; the previous week, the Israelis had been discovered to be building a small nuclear reactor which could produce a small amount of plutonium and a large amount of knowledge. Also at the AAAS meeting, it was disclosed that the Chinese Reds are making great strides in all branches of technology that interest them and, as one index, will be the third largest producer of steel and iron in the world by 1970. So, as the *New York Herald Tribune* says, "Chinese atomic bombs and rockets may not be much farther away. Indeed, they may be closer. . . . We cannot afford to wait until China has the bomb before making up our minds about what it will mean to us."

Sir Charles is of the same view, but unlike most top-flight American officials and commentators he does not put his trust in outbuilding the "enemy" in missiles, space ships and nuclear bombs. He warns that some of the nuclear bombs, whether ours or those of the "enemy," will be exploded within about ten years, through "accident, or folly, or madness." His advice to the United States is to agree to a formal suspension of nuclear tests. He is of the opinion that the 99.9 per cent security against cheating sought by the United States simply cannot be achieved and, as between the certain disaster which lack of an agreement would bring and the limited risk imposed by an imperfect agreement, "no sane man would hesitate."

Sir Charles also has some advice for scientists, from a scientist. He points out that many scientists, to all intents and purposes, become soldiers, even if they wear no uniforms. The basic virtue of the soldier is to obey. The German officer corps obeyed the Nazis, and look at what happened! It can happen to scientists, too. "When you look at the long and gloomy history of man," says Sir Charles, "you will find far more, and far more hideous, crimes have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion."

FIRST STEPS to BETTER SCHOOLS . . Myron Lieberman

DURING his campaign for the Presidency, Senator Kennedy frequently pledged himself to strengthen the nation's educational system. Now that his hour of opportunity and responsibility is at hand, what should he do?

Desegregation

Perhaps his first major task will be to get desegregation moving and to prevent resistance to it from undermining education all over the country. Out of 2,834 biracial school districts in the South, only 768 had some degree of desegregation at the opening of the 1960-61 school year. Over 700 of these districts had desegregated from 1954 to 1957. At the rate of desegregation prevailing during the past three years, it will take one hundred years to desegregate every biracial school system in the country. This is overlooking the fact that desegregation is only nominal in many of the 768 districts now classified as desegregated. In many of these districts, the all-Negro or predominantly Negro schools still operate with facilities inferior to those available in predominantly white schools.

The following action should be taken. First, there should be established an educational conciliation service, comparable to the labor conciliation service in the Department of Labor. This agency should be available as a clearing house for information and for consultation services for communities confronted by problems of desegregation.

Legislation should provide substantial financial incentives to desegregate. This would help overcome resistance based upon the staggering inequalities between white and Negro schools. As late as 1954, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimated that it would take at least \$2 billion to equalize white and Negro schools in the South. Because of the broad dispersion of white and Negro pupils in most Southern cities,

drawing school boundary lines on a nonracial basis would force many white pupils to attend the inadequate schools heretofore reserved for Negro pupils. It is tragic that the inequalities produced by segregation should be a cause for perpetuating it, but let us remove the cause, unfair and illogical as it is. Better schools for both white and Negro children will have to be built anyway in most communities; new facilities which are neither "white" nor "Negro" would help ease the transition, especially if they could be acquired without additional local taxation.

Financial assistance should also be made available for programs of community information, in-service training for teachers, and other aspects of desegregation. In the long run, money spent to prevent crises like those at Little Rock and New Orleans will be more productive than money spent after a crisis develops.

At the present time, the pace and locale of desegregation depend upon the presence of individual Negroes willing to assert their Constitutional rights in the face of enormous pressures. Such individuals are to be commended, but the transition is too important to be left to the heroic action of the few. The federal government must become an active partner in a systematic program to desegregate key areas. As these areas are desegregated, attention can be shifted to others.

Inside the federal government, one person should be assigned over-all responsibility for advancing desegregation. This person should have the utmost support of the Department of Justice and of HEW, and the active cooperation of Vice President Johnson in steering desegregation through the political mine fields.

Last (and far from least), the Kennedy Administration should develop a program to end segregated education in the North. The growth of Negro ghettos has already resulted in staggering educational problems in large Northern cities. For example, experienced teachers usually transfer to "upper-class" neighborhoods; new teachers prefer jobs

in the suburbs to those in Negro ghettos. Thus it becomes difficult to staff Negro schools in large metropolitan areas. Quite often, they are staffed with a much higher proportion of emergency or substitute teachers than other schools in the same community. For instance, about half the teaching positions in predominantly Negro junior high schools in New York City are filled by teachers who do not have a regular teaching license. President Eisenhower failed to exert leadership toward a nonracial school system in the South; President Kennedy will have to exert leadership toward this end in all sections of the country.

Teachers' Salaries

TEACHERS' salaries are too low and must be raised. This is the conclusion of a host of agencies which have studied the matter in recent years: the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report, the Public Affairs Institute, the President's Commission on National Goals, the Educational Policies Commission and many others.

A few simple comparisons may help put the problem in perspective. The National Education Association's Research Division compared teachers' salaries to those in seventeen professions requiring four or more years of college. Counting only persons working at least half a year and earning \$1,500 or more, the mean salary of teachers was \$4,059; for the seventeen other professions as a whole, it was \$10,697. The medians were \$4,831 and \$8,195 respectively.

Senator Kennedy has made it clear that he supports the Murray-Metcalf Bill, which would eventually provide over \$4 billion a year for teachers' salaries and school construction, with each state to make its own allocation of federal funds as between these purposes. Nevertheless, the problem is not simply to raise the average annual salary of all teachers. Federal action should take into account two additional aspects of the situation.

One is the sizable number of teachers earning extremely low salaries. In 1958, almost one teacher in five made

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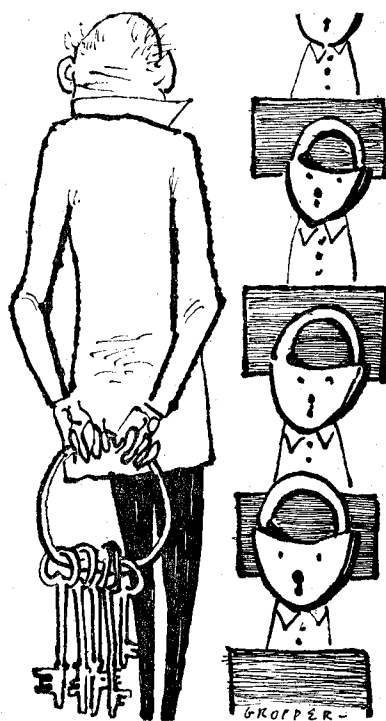
less than \$3,500 a year. In 1959, almost 12.9 per cent made less than \$3,500 a year. The absence of high salaries is the other side of this coin. In 1958, only 1 out of every 500 instructional personnel in the public schools made \$10,000 or more, whereas 120 out of every 500 persons in other professions made at least this much. Teaching obviously cannot recruit its rightful proportion of top-quality people in this situation.

An immediate transfusion of federal support for teachers' salaries is clearly indicated. There is no point in recommending amounts; whatever President Kennedy can get through Congress will only be an inadequate, short-range solution. For the long haul, a start must be made on a national salary policy for education. This policy must be addressed to such questions as these: Should all teachers be paid according to years of preparation and teaching experience but regardless of grade level or subject taught? Is there any way to pay outstanding teachers salaries which are comparable to higher ones received in other professions without getting bogged down in the difficulties of "merit rating"? Would it be feasible to have *national* board examinations, comparable to the medical specialty boards, identify teachers possessing a superior level of professional competence? Should states be required to devote federal aid to teachers' salaries where they fall below certain minimums?

A national salary policy must also come to grips with the question of how teachers are to get whatever salaries they ought to have. One can cite any number of reports to the effect that teachers should be paid more. Unfortunately, they ignore the equally important question of what to do to get them. Until attention is focused on this issue, there will be no satisfactory solution to the salary problem in education. The suggestions made in the next few paragraphs are related to this point.

Employer-Employee Relations

AT THE present time, employer-employee relations in education are incredibly backward. For example, most school boards are not legally required to meet with the freely chosen representatives of teachers concern-



The Keys of Learning

ing matters of employment. Most teachers' organizations permit unrestricted administrator membership, a condition that fatally weakens their effectiveness as employee organizations. Teachers' contracts are usually drawn up by school boards, and they accord teachers very little, if any, of the protection they need to work effectively.

What is called for is a thorough reorganization of employer-employee relations in education. However, school districts are agencies of the state governments, hence the federal government cannot act directly to institute the kind of framework needed. It can, however, subsidize conferences, publications, research programs and other activities to focus attention on this problem.

Let me cite an example of the kind of change that is needed. Teachers currently try to get their state legislatures to pass minimum-salary laws. It would be far better to have these legislatures delegate to state officials, such as state superintendents of public instruction, the authority to set state-wide minimums subject to legislative approval. These officials would negotiate for the legislatures just as industrial executives negotiate for their corporations. The procedure would be much simpler and more effective than the passage of

minimum-salary laws, most of which are out of date within a short time.

School Construction

LOCAL school districts do not have the resources to build new schools on a pay-as-you-go basis. To spread costs over a period of years, they borrow money to build schools. So a sizable portion of the school-construction dollar is spent on interest.

For example, a typical high school today costs \$1 million. Assuming the cost were amortized over a thirty-year period and payments made on a diminishing balance, the school district would eventually pay \$628,500 in interest in addition to the \$1 million principal. On the same assumptions, the district would pay \$314,250 in interest on a \$500,000 elementary school. It is interesting to note that the rise in interest rates between 1952 and 1960 added \$300,000 to the cost of the high school and \$150,000 to the cost of the elementary school.

Note that the credit of local school districts is not as good as that of the state governments, and the credit of state governments is not as good as that of the federal government. Further, under present conditions, the demand for school construction is so dispersed that school authorities do not get the benefits of mass purchases. In short, the more "local" the construction, the more it costs.

Ultimately, school construction should be on a pay-as-you-go basis or something reasonably close to it. At least, whatever basis is used, there should be as much actual construction per dollar as for any other public facility. The federal government alone has the resources to finance this transition, but there is no thought that it can be achieved within a short period of time. However, federal assistance and pressure should be used to strengthen the credit rating of school districts and states which borrow for school construction. It might be advisable to set up a Center for Educational Finance in the U. S. Office of Education. This center would be a clearing house for information, ideas, model legislation and other aspects of school finance.

Teacher Certification

At the present time, each state sets its own requirements for a teach-



St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Poor little kid!"

ing certificate. Most states give colleges wide latitude in prescribing these requirements. The result is wide variation from state to state and college to college in programs of teacher education.

Clearly, there is no good reason why the requirements for physics teachers in California should be different from those in New York, or why those in upstate New York should be different from those in New York City. The mobility of both teachers and students is reason enough to argue otherwise.

The chaos in teacher certification is usually defended as "experimentation," but it is nothing of the sort. The responsibility for evaluating the different patterns of teacher education is so diffuse that no agency has the resources to do the job properly. As a result, certification is based on conjecture, speculation, faculty politics, institutional self-interest and other irrelevant factors.

The action required is the establishment of a permanent agency to deal with certification. This agency should have a competent staff and ample funds to conduct intensive analyses of current practices, formulate recommendations and disseminate its findings to key agencies throughout the land. Its concern should be broader than the courses taken by teachers. It should be concerned also with membership on state boards which license teachers, the feasibility of state-board examinations for teaching certificates, the number and kind of certificates to be issued and similar problems. Its permanent staff should be composed

largely of leading scholars from appropriate disciplines. The financial support need not, and probably should not, be wholly governmental, but federal leadership and support appear to be essential to launch such an agency at the present time.

The fact that teacher certification is a function of state government is not crucial. Legally, so is medical licensure; nevertheless we have, in effect, a national system of medical licensure achieved by the cooperation of the American Medical Association with the state medical societies. Unfortunately, teachers' organizations are too weak to follow this path. Other sources of leadership are essential.

Curriculum

The public-school curriculum is a mess, both in terms of the subjects offered and their content. This is being remedied to some extent by a number of high-level curriculum commissions established during the past few years. Examples are the Physical Science Study Committee of Educational Services Incorporated, the Biological Sciences Study Committee at the University of Colorado, the School Mathematics Study Group at Yale and the University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics. These and other commissions are doing valuable work, but much remains to be done.

In the first place, these commissions are not organized on a permanent basis. When they go out of existence, the gap between what is known and what is taught will begin to grow again. Furthermore, none of the agencies has the legal authority to change the curriculum anywhere. This would not be so serious if they had the resources to bring about widespread voluntary acceptance of their recommendations, but they do not.

Another important problem is that there is no major effort under way to revise the curriculum in non-academic subjects. For instance, although close to one-half of our high-school students take vocational programs, no major assessment of these programs is currently being financed by either the federal government or the foundations. The content of vocational education has been

built up by bits and pieces in response to conditions that no longer prevail, yet it seems almost impossible to get the academic-oriented philanthropoids to underwrite a thoroughgoing evaluation of it. In any case, we must get away from one-shot efforts at curriculum revision. The content of the public-school curriculum is important enough to justify a permanent research and evaluation program under the guidance of leading scholars.

School District Reorganization

There are at present about 40,000 school districts in the country. More than half do not enroll as many as fifty pupils. Obviously, in these districts, the expense of providing adequate education for everyone becomes prohibitive.

The federal government should launch an all-out attack on this problem. If an educational program does not work, federal aid to the states should be made contingent upon the elimination of small districts. There is nothing objectionable to being taxed for education in other states, but there is to being taxed to maintain costly and inefficient school districts.

LET ME now say a few words about this agenda as a whole. At first glance, it may appear to overstress conferences, commissions, committees and other indirect influences upon education. However, public schools are units of the state governments. The content of the curriculum, the requirements to be a teacher, the framework of employer-employee relations—these and other basic aspects of education are matters of state control within the broad limits set by the federal Constitution. At least, this is our tradition, and whether it is good or bad, it is a factor we cannot ignore.

Despite this limitation, the federal government is in a key position to influence education, including those aspects which are legally a matter for state control. To my knowledge, every qualified observer of our educational situation has concluded that the federal government can, should and will assume a larger share of school costs than it has in the past. The conditions under which

federal support is made available to the states will have a decisive impact on state educational policy. This is not the only way, or necessarily the best way, for the federal government to influence education, but it does emphasize the fact that the federal government can play a key role in matters which are legally controlled by the states.

Suppose that the federal government begins to provide part of the salary for 1,400,000 teachers. Suppose further that a sizable number of states continue to tolerate obviously inadequate requirements for a teaching certificate. If the federal government were to limit federal funds to teachers who meet certain requirements, the pressure in all states to accept these requirements would be irresistible.

The federal government should make every effort to avoid a coercive approach in its relations with the states. Experience in other fields indicates that much can be done to achieve nation-wide improvements in matters legally controlled by the states. But for this to happen, there must be effective national leadership, either in the federal government or in professional organizations, or both.

The Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee has proposed that the President be required to make an Annual Report on Education to Congress which would be prepared with the help of a Council of Educational Advisers. Hearings on it would be conducted by a joint Congressional Committee on the President's Education Report. Here

is an excellent way to focus national attention on our major educational needs. It illustrates the kind of action Mr. Kennedy could take to stimulate state action on key educational problems.

Some of the most important problems requiring national leadership will not require official Presidential action, yet the President can play a decisive role in resolving them. This is particularly true when it comes to the issue of federal support for non-public schools, especially Catholic parochial schools. The President's task here is not so much to say in the first instance what should be the limits of such aid. It is to get key leaders together to resolve their differences as much as possible.

The analogy here is to a strike which threatens the national safety or welfare. The prestige of the Presidency is first used to bring the parties together to work out an agreement. The government may be forced eventually to prescribe the solution or to approve whatever agreement is reached, but it should do so only after making a strong effort to get the major power blocs to arrive at a consensus. As the federal government assumes a larger share of school costs, controversies relating to federal aid to non-public schools will increase. Now is the time to initiate fruitful informal discussions among key leadership groups. Otherwise, there is a danger that the issues will become dangerously disruptive.

The preceding discussion was based upon the belief that the U. S. Office of Education can and must

play a more dynamic role in the future. I do not say this by way of criticism of present or past commissioners. Rather, my belief is that times have changed and that the U. S. Office of Education must reflect this fact. It must be more than a fact-gathering and fund-distributing agency. It must have the personnel and resources to identify basic educational problems, regardless of area, to conduct research on these problems, and to mobilize whatever forces are needed to resolve them. I would be the first to concede that USOE does this now to some extent. Nevertheless, it is not an important source of educational leadership at the present time. One of the first tasks of the Kennedy Administration will be to remedy this situation.

Finally, the incoming Administration must realize the dimension of its educational agenda. Its problem is not merely to raise teachers' salaries, but to change the institutional structure by which we decide how much to pay teachers. It must recognize that the main issue in certification is not whether to add or delete a few courses, but how to modernize the certification structure over the country as a whole. In short, the basic educational task of the Kennedy Administration is to reform the decision-making structure of education at certain key points. If there is acceptance of this concept, instead of a sincere but misguided effort to solve old problems within an outmoded legal and administrative framework, there will be no limits on what President Kennedy can do in this vital area.

GUATEMALA'S SECRET AIRSTRIP . . by Don Dwiggins

HAS THE U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) financed construction of a giant new air base in Guatemala to supply anti-Castro forces with a base of operations against Cuba?

To find the answer, I flew down to Guatemala City shortly before Christmas, in a deceptively serene non-stop jet flight, five hours from Los Angeles by Pan American's new

DC-8 run. Toward the end of the flight, one looks down from the window of the jet, past its raked wing, upon a peaceful panorama of breathtaking beauty that obscures the feverish activity going on in the tropic coastal jungles 30,000 feet below. In the distance, one sees past the Sierra Madres, beyond the Continental Divide, where warm Caribbean

waters meet Guatemala at Puerto Barrios, presently a seaport of great significance.

Pacific coastal fog obscured what I was looking for — a secret jet airstrip hacked from the jungles somewhere in the department of Ret-

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alhuleu, close to the Mexican border.

Later, when I questioned Guatemalan government officials and U.S. consular aides, I found that a cloud still obscured the base. No one in an official position would explain why Guatemala, a country without a single jet plane of its own, needs a jet airstrip for military use.

I first asked U.S. Ambassador Joseph F. Muccio: "Has the United States loaned any money to Guatemala to build a military base in this country?"

"That question you must put to Guatemalan officials," he told me.

I asked the same question of Jesus Unda Murillo, Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs. "Just Cuban propaganda," was his answer.

LATER I pressed the question upon Guatemalan businessmen, journalists and aviation people and got startlingly different answers. Said J. Alfredo Palmieri, a newsman I met in Antigua: "Yes, the story is correct. I first broke the story here in Guatemala, about a month ago. But it will be impossible to get to the base."

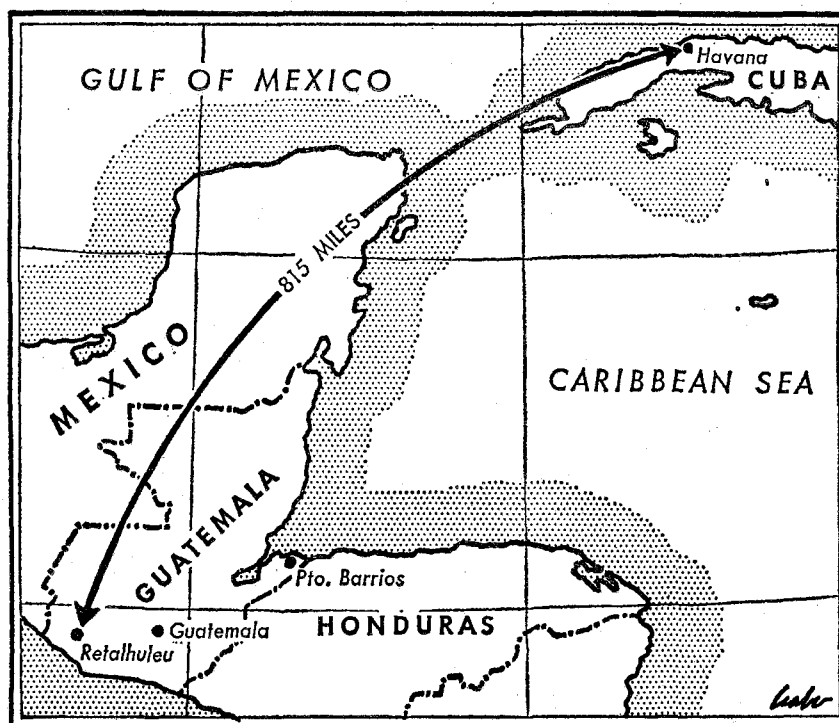
From Palmieri, from a retired U. S. attorney living at Atitlan, from Pan American airline people and from other sources, I was able to confirm the report that first appeared in a *Nation* editorial ("Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?", *The Nation*, Nov. 19) to the effect that a military base actually exists behind the green curtain of Retalhuleu.

All access to the airfield is cut off. Guards carrying rifles are posted at every approach road. The strip, though its reported 8,000 feet length would seem to be rather short for handling jet fighter traffic, can nevertheless manage these planes because it is at sea level.

The strip is built on land owned by a prominent Guatemalan cattleman, Manuel Ralda. Actual construction is said to have been completed in an eighty-day crash program during the late summer of 1960, under the worst possible climatic conditions of oppressive heat and high humidity.

As there is no airline traffic into Retalhuleu, there is no question as to the airstrip's purpose.

Guatemala's air force, it should be



noted here, consists of corroding war-surplus Mustang fighters, AT-6 trainers and some war-weary twin-engine bombers squatting like wounded birds at Guatemala City's La Aurora Airport.

NOT LONG ago, Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, returned from Guatemala with evidence that the country is swarming with anti-Castro exiles planning an invasion of the Isle of Pines, off Cuba. [*The Nation* broke the Retalhuleu story on information received from Dr. Hilton.—Ed.]

There, said Dr. Hilton, they hope to set up a Formosa-type government to act as a rally point for foes of Cuba's dictator. Coordinated with this planned invasion, he predicted, will be a build-up of forces at Guatemala's Puerto Barrios, which will serve as a staging area for the maneuver.

While he did not establish that the CIA was behind the Retalhuleu base, Dr. Hilton said "there has been so much talk about it that President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes attempted to explain the whole thing on television." Guatemala, Dr. Hilton pointed out, is close to bankruptcy, and thus not in a position to have provided the \$1,000,000 which the Retalhuleu base must have cost.

Aside from the mystery of who paid for the field is the question of why it is there and what use will be made of it. One report indicates that Retalhuleu is a training base for both air and ground operations of a growing army of volunteers from member states of the Organization of American States. Other reports identify the airstrip as one of a growing network of military bases from which a coordinated attack could easily be launched against Cuba.

In a bar at Caracas, Venezuela, one itinerant pilot told me that there is a go-between who handles secret messages for members of a newly formed Caribbean Legion of fliers of fortune. These fly-for-hire airmen, he said, are secretly bringing into the Caribbean theatre a growing armada of strange aircraft, from British Vampire jet fighters to World War II B-25s and P-51s.

In Los Angeles, a member of a former pro-Castro gun-smuggling ring, now turned anti-Castro, tells of a fantastic air-raid operation scheduled for some time early in 1961.

"They are offering \$25,000 for pilots to fly on this mission," he said.

Who are "they"?

"They're high up in the government," he replied.

According to his story, six A-20s, armed with 600-pound bombs, their

pilots waiting for cash advances before taking off, are scattered on fields in Los Angeles, Miami, Haiti and Venezuela. The plan is for them to streak in low over the water, boom over the Cuban coastline at 4 A.M. one morning, and bomb Castro's oil-storage tanks.

True or not, the story has a not implausible ring. Anti-Castro planes actually have pulled off such raids—but with pamphlets, not bombs. They returned to secret bases—some say to Retalhuleu, some say to Kingston, Jamaica.

At tiny Swan Island in the mid-

Caribbean, a powerful radio station today broadcasts the anti-Castro propaganda messages of Miguel Angel Quevado, exiled former editor of Cuba's *Bohemia* magazine. Home of a U. S. Weather Bureau hurricane tracking station, Swan Island is actually owned by a Boston businessman, Sumner Smith, descendant of Capt. Alonzo Adams, who settled there in 1893.

Castro today is being slowly ringed by a tightening noose as the old Caribbean Legion of tramp air pilots is revitalized. In Nicaragua, President Luis Somoza's pilots, curiously,

are mainly from Japan, Germany and the United States—Somoza trusts his own airmen about as much as he trusts Castro.

But it is in Guatemala, biggest of the Central American countries, where things are most tense. There exiled Cubans are reported to be seeking a leader to rally the scattered opposition to Castro's regime.

The late Col. Carlos Castillo Armas invaded Guatemala in 1954 and overthrew its Left government, became President and later was assassinated by a palace guard. Yet to appear is a Cuban Col. Castillo.

Lessons of the British Peace Drive.. by Stephen Hugh-Jones

Manchester, England

ON GOOD FRIDAY, 1958, more out of curiosity than conviction, I joined the 4,000 people leaving London on the first march organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) to the British Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston. After fifteen miles and a morning of the sneers and smears of the British press, there were 600—and I was a member of the CND.

A year later, 4,000 marchers left Aldermaston and the final rally in London was 15,000 strong. By now the editorial writers' ridicule had changed to a pitying respect: our motives, of course, were fine, and our proposals, of course, ill thought out and impractical. Last April, 40,000 marchers joined a crowd as large in Trafalgar Square to make the greatest political demonstration seen in Britain since the war; and in October their policy became (in theory) that of Britain's second largest party. Respect turned to real fear.

What has this old history to do with you as an American? Senator Kennedy's victory offers opportunities for peace that we have not known since 1946. But it is crucial how the ambiguities in his program are defined: that America strong and renewed should not mean two rock-

ets where one grew before, that the appointment of ambassadors who know what continent they are in not imply just more efficient propaganda. The choice is between trying to win the cold war, and trying to end it.

The politics of the cold war still rules the European Left, but there are signs of revolt. The unilateralists have—for a time, at least—captured the British Labour Party. In France, Mollet's "Socialists" have been facing, since April, the genuine *Parti Socialiste Unifié*. The German Social Democrats, who two years ago, with the trade unions, launched an ineffective campaign "*Gegen den Atomtod*" ("Against Atom Deaths") have since moved rapidly Right, especially after the Summit failure. But they are in conflict with many of their student adherents (the Dutch Socialists are in a similar position). In Denmark, where the Social Democrats are in power, a new neutralist Socialist Party won eleven seats in the recent elections.

All these are minority movements. In Britain, opinion polls suggest we have about one-fifth support. In France and Germany, the movements are almost trivial. But our British experience has shown the potentiality of even the tiniest group. What is missing from this concert of minorities is the voice of the United States. Those few Europeans who have heard of SANE are inclined to wish

unkindly that it were sometimes just a little loony. American radicals cannot capture either major party. But they could create a force which would influence opinion during the vital first year of the Kennedy regime. For such a task the experience and mistakes of the British CND may have lessons.

THE CND came formally into existence in January, 1958, at a meeting in London. Bertrand Russell was elected president, and the chairman was John Collins, a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. But for its origins one must go back at least to early 1957, when it was announced that Britain was shortly to test its first H-bomb. The test was successfully carried out near Christmas Island in the Pacific on May 15.

There was an immediate reaction. For many British people—perhaps a majority—it was a happy event. Confused and humiliated by the fiasco of Suez, now they could hold up their heads. Britain was Great again. But among others, particularly the students, who were already urging postponement of tests, the reaction was sharp and hostile.

It is necessary to say something about the students, who played so large a part in subsequent events. Except for a brief flowering of Marxism in the thirties, British students had never shared the European tra-

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dition of active involvement in politics: until 1956 their most notable participation was helping to break the 1926 general strike. But the British invasion of Egypt in 1956 shocked them into life. Almost every university saw liberal and left-wing student demonstrations against the government. (Simultaneously, the Left was intellectually invigorated by the inflow of Marxists, released at last by Hungary from the crippling discipline and double-think of the still Stalinist British Communist Party.)

It was these forces (then, and still, it should be said, probably under one-third of our university population) which provided the backbone of resistance. Some elements in the churches also spoke, notably among Quakers and Methodists. But the Anglican Bishop of Manchester within weeks of the test was urging unilateral British renunciation of the bomb—the first formulation of this demand that I know of.

The opposition was at first disorganized. The idea of a student initiative in politics was still unfamiliar. But in September, 4,000 people demonstrated against the bomb. In the following months a group of liberal intellectuals set themselves to lead the fight. The first meetings in universities were held, and the campaign was born on the straightforward issue that Britain give up the bomb.

In February, 1958, 5,000 attended its first public meetings held simultaneously in three London halls (unreported by *The Times* for motives unknown but widely imputed). In March, the Russians announced suspension of tests. In April came the first Aldermaston march.

THE CHARACTER of the campaign was apparent from the outset. Trafalgar Square before the march was very largely young, mildly beatnik in appearance and mostly middle-class. Among them were a number of notable young and leftish intellectuals such as Kenneth Tynan, the critic, and John Osborne. All shades of radical opinion were represented. There were even a few Conservatives. The campaign has always insisted that it is non-political and slogans such as "Ban the bomb, sack

the Tories" were officially frowned on. Some Communists were there, but not in significant numbers. Mercifully, the CP was opposed to British unilateralism until it decided to leap on the bandwagon a year ago.

The march was an unexpected success, even with the general public. As it plodded on its second day through appalling weather, the reporters were gradually convinced that we must be more than just a bunch of weirdies. They also found our appearance more normal that day, not perhaps realizing that in plastic macintoshes all men are brothers. The final rally of 7,000 outside the atomic-weapons establishment was only marred when one of our opponents untactfully chose to harangue "Khrushchev's bunnies" from a Mercedes-Benz, and had his loudspeaker less non-violently treated than it should have been. The press went happily back to its old ways.

One need not detail the further progress of the campaign. The essentials of its success, and difficulties, were all present in the first Aldermaston. I mention my own experience precisely because it was insignificant, and typical. The CND has always been a curiosity among political movements, one in which the rank and file count for more than the leadership. With the exception of Canon Collins and some of the organizing officials, any one of its national names (and they include several Labour MPs) could vanish with barely a ripple.

A curious decision less than two months after the first march suggested that the leaders, who could fairly be described as members of the liberal "Establishment," did not realize the nature of the forces they had unleashed. They determined henceforth to lay less stress on public demonstrations and concentrate on the politically important sections of the community, "the slow persuasion of those who make opinion." This hangover from the elite view of politics was in fact never carried out. Since that date the CND has been carried forward by a program of marches, demonstrations and innumerable public meetings. Also, and with great success, by referenda in universities, which revealed, very

early, astonishing student support. A new series is now under way.

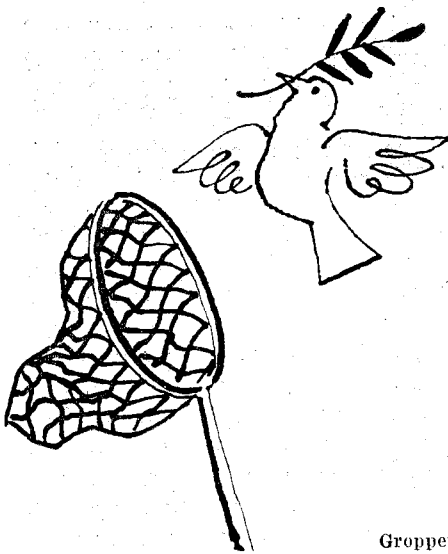
The other typical element in my adherence was that it was primarily emotional. Those of my age and younger had spent our entire lives in the shadow of actual or impending war. I happened to believe there are sound practical reasons for Britain to quit the arms race; but what basically stirred me was a feeling of profound solidarity with those who were actually trying to do something about it. The CND has always played, with tremendous success, on young people's horror of war and the sheer immorality of nuclear weapons. Far more supporters have joined it for this than any other reason.

It has been correspondingly weak on practical politics. The road to Aldermaston was littered with British "moral gestures" and hardly a mention of crude words like negotiation or power. Even now some of its propagandists talk as if Britain had only to give a lead and the neutral nations (Nasser's Egypt?), recognizing our moral stature, will rally behind us.

Its claimed lack of standpoint in internal politics has helped it greatly. Cynical references to politicians of any party have always met an immediate response from the numbers of young people who genuinely regard the lot of them as a gang of tired old men, each as bad as the other. The campaign has united Liberals, Socialists, religious groups, pacifists and the non-party in a way that would otherwise have been impossible.

BUT THIS policy carries the seeds of weakness. To a minority of supporters it is ludicrous. On the simplest level, they argue, the Labour Party is the only possible agent of British unilateralism. More deeply, abandonment of the bomb implies a radical change in foreign policies: in short, a Socialist policy, which in turn implies government by a Socialist party, which the Labour Party, in their terms, is not.

The non-political and the extreme Left have thus found themselves in partnership. A "direct action committee" split off two years ago. It advocated (quite ineffectually, as a



Gropper

by-election showed) a "voters' veto" on non-unilateralist candidates. Latterly it has concentrated on peaceful obstruction; and earned some stiff prison sentences. For quite different reasons, an allied policy of industrial action against the bomb has been promoted (again without success) by the Socialist Labour League, a small, authoritarian, Trotskyite fraction ideologically linked to the American Socialist Workers Party.

This autumn Lord Russell resigned the presidency of CND after a well-publicized row over his plans (now going ahead) for widespread civil disobedience. The orthodox CND, almost readier for the bomb than the barricades, considers all these methods would only lose public support.

ONLY in the last year has the campaign forced itself (rather, been forced by its younger members) to accept the logic of its position and advocate neutralism, barely disguised, as a condition (which could only be refused) for staying in NATO. It had earlier urged removal of U.S. bases here, but its policy of unilateralism *tout court* had found some unexpected allies: *The Times*, arguing for more conventional troops, in February, 1959, declared that "a threat of suicide is not a defense policy"; a former Conservative minister asked pointedly whether we could afford our own bomb; and generals had been moving in the same direction. This was roughly the attitude of the Liberal Party, and even the official leadership of the Labour

Party brought themselves to accept it early last summer.

But neutralism was quite another thing. Its acceptance has coincided with a fall in popular support: the Gallup Poll, crediting straight unilateralism with 33 per cent support before the Summit, 27 per cent in June, gave it only 21 per cent in September, when it was at last becoming clear to the public what the battle was now about. The CND has largely itself to blame: its inordinate delay in explaining just what neutralism implies has enabled its opponents to install their version in the public mind.

This policy nevertheless was carried by a small majority at last October's Labour Party conference. This was the culmination of two years' retreat under pressure by the party executive. Starting with a defense policy imperceptibly different from that of the government, they had come to propose a purely conventional British contribution to NATO, coupled with strong political control. But on the principle of collective security they dug in their heels, and lost.

THIS FAMOUS victory may well prove illusory. It was not based on a surge of mass working-class support, but on the obscure mechanisms of trade-union voting: and it will very possibly be reversed by the same means. Significantly, the million-odd votes representing the Labour Party's local branches, which had been heavily unilateral in 1958 (the last previous vote) are believed to have swung the other way. Gaitskell, backed by most of the Labour MPs, has set himself the task of salvation, and on present form will come close to smashing his party in achieving it.

Personally, I suspect that this victory, of which both sides have made so much, will turn out to have been relatively insignificant (for the campaign, not the party). The very zeal with which the Right has sought to discredit it can only help to discredit any reversal, proving (what we all knew in private) that power is something different from amassing hypothetical votes. The CND, without the slightest help from the

party machine, had won considerable support among the rank and file, in the unions and from about one-fifth of its MPs. This, the crucial process, may have been halted for a time by the open espousal of neutralism. To the Socialist groups in the campaign, this is a necessary set-back. In the long term, a coalition based on lack of clarity and united only on a single, undeveloped, demand must prove weaker (being easily fragmented and potentially irrelevant) than one grouped about a broad but coherent political philosophy.

HOW DOES all this relate to the American scene? The political conditions, still more the political mechanisms, are obviously not even approximately parallel: in particular, an American peace movement cannot hope for labor support. But these are not the determining factors. In the things that matter, your conditions, I suggest, are much more akin to ours, and not so much less favorable than they might seem.

You will face a hostile press and the opposition of the vast majority of politicians. So did we: the Conservatives have always totally opposed the CND, Labour leaders have done their best to sabotage it, the Liberals at first gave elements of its policy lukewarm support and even that has been withdrawn. We have our fifty-odd Labour members: you have the tiny nucleus that formed the "Liberal Project." Except for a brief period of support from one Labour paper, every national newspaper has opposed us editorially: with honorable exceptions, their news reporting has ranged from bias to sheer irresponsibility. Whatever its faults, your press is at least theoretically dedicated, as ours is not, to the separation of fact from comment.

Two advantages you lack. We were lucky enough to be opposed by the Communist Party, in a country anyway less given to McCarthyism. The other, which does no credit to us, or to the Pentagon rocket-rattlers who feed it, is a strong latent anti-Americanism.

But the decisive elements of our situation exist in yours. They were these: the mood created by the shock

of Suez, and the active support of the students.

The first Sputniks acted for you as a remarkable parallel to Suez, evoking the dual response, the simple "Let's catch up" and the critical "Why did it happen?" Suddenly you have seen it become respectable, even fashionable, to question America's assumptions: where are you going, or should you be, in what your greatness lies, what you should count as success. It should be possible to carry this discontent well beyond the cautious frontiers of men like Kennedy or even Stevenson, Galbraith or Chester Bowles.

Your students, too, have learned in the last year precisely what we learned from Suez. The lesson of the sit-ins, the picketing of stores, the campus cooperation was not just that

young people can be liberal on race: it is that they can lead, they can organize, they can act and win. And reports suggest that the connection between the fight against racism and the fight for peace is already being made.

What should the objective of an American peace movement be? Our experience suggests it should be radically in advance of existing opinion, and make real demands: a movement which will go to the barricades for, say, the renewal of Summit talks can be made to look pretty silly, as we learned in April. Equally, however advanced, it must not be in principle repugnant to the plain man's common sense. The British deterrent *was* only a threat of suicide. Yours is in addition an undeniably effective threat of murder. Would

any but pacifists support unilateral disarmament by the United States? Even the moral-minded CND does not advocate it.

Our experience again suggests initial demands simple enough to unite many strands of opinion. But whatever they are, you should not be afraid to do what the various Socialist groups such as the "New Left" in the CND have attempted—to draw out their full implications. You may lose popular support: you run the risk, already grave for the CND, of the movement's becoming a battleground of sects. But unless you are ready to link the fight for peace to a comprehensive critique, I suspect that in ten years' time what are now your young enthusiasts will be wondering vaguely what on earth it was all about.

Death Knell of 'Algérie française' . . . by Alexander Werth

Paris
THIS YEAR even Christmas failed to make people forget about Algeria. In the last fortnight, there has been a 15-20 per cent rise in the sale of most newspapers, something that has not happened since the dramatic days of May, 1958, when the Algiers revolt brought de Gaulle back to power.

There is a feeling now that events are moving fast, that the whole situation has changed radically since the Moslem demonstrations in Algiers, Oran and Bone last month, in the course of which at least 200 Moslems were killed (mostly by fanatic European civilians). There was an initial tendency to blame de Gaulle for what had happened. Had he not been warned that his visit to Algeria would provoke violence on the part of the Europeans? But what had been least expected was that it would produce violence from the terrorized, "tame" Moslems of the Algiers Casbah who, in May of 1958, had obediently cried "*Algérie*

française!" and other integration slogans. Who would have thought that these "cowed" people would come out by the thousands, shouting the slogans of the FLN, the Algerian Nationalists?

Now people are saying that de Gaulle's visit, despite the terrible human losses involved, at least has clarified the situation. These Moslem demonstrations have sounded the death knell of "French Algeria" for good and all.

Nobody thinks any longer of Algerian self-determination in terms of years. A high official who is close to de Gaulle told me the other day: "This time the General is in a hurry; he is not going to stand any nonsense from anyone. When the French authorities in Algiers send over 600 Europeans—not Moslems but Europeans—to internment camps since December 11, it means that things have changed radically." Then he added, less convincingly: "You will see that, immediately after the referendum of January 8, the talks with the FLN will be resumed. De Gaulle is quite aware of the fact that the whole Algerian Moslem population is pro-FLN, and that nothing

can be achieved in Algeria without the FLN."

But, of course, what the Algerians will do on January 8, and how de Gaulle will react afterwards, are still the big question marks in the situation.

WHAT IS certain, however, is that de Gaulle's position is stronger today than it was two months ago. In October, a well-known left-wing editorial writer noted: "De Gaulle almost belongs to the past." This is no longer true. The danger of a military *putsch* in Algeria is much smaller than it was then; the General no longer seems afraid of an "*Algérie française*" revolt led by Marshal Juin, General Salan, or those civilian "ultras," Ortiz and Lagailarde. More important, except for a few highly suspect paratroop units, the French Army in Algeria no longer appears to be the independent political force it was even a year ago. Even among those French career officers whose personal sympathies are with the "ultras" there is a growing realization that the "ultras" are on the losing side. Significantly, too, the officers in Algeria have been increas-

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ingly affected by the growing hostility of ordinary French conscripts to the "die-hards" and the *colons*, and by the undisguised longing of these youngsters for peace.

There's still another factor keeping the Army relatively quiet. As the *Monde* wrote on December 21:

The fear of having quickly to abandon Algeria has been greatly reduced. The Army will have to be there for a long time yet to keep the two communities [i.e., the Moslem and European] apart. The Army has reacted to the latest events by suddenly realizing that complete discipline was the only solution for it. Many officers have won a hard and painful victory over their inner preferences.

NO DOUBT the question to be asked in the January 8 referendum about approving the "temporary" institutions to be given Algeria pending self-determination is absurd. Actually, it consists of two questions, and most people would prefer to answer each of them individually. On the Left, the tendency is to say Yes to self-determination, but No to the extremely dubious "temporary" institutions de Gaulle is promising to give Algeria during the initial stages of his plan.

But, just as in 1958, the referendum's prime importance lies in the fact that it will be a vote of confidence, or no confidence, in de Gaulle. And, in order to gain the largest possible support of the Left, the General in his private conversations is going much farther toward meeting the FLN demands than he has ever gone publicly. There are stories that negotiations would be resumed with the FLN "two days after the referendum." There are other stories that de Gaulle will call for elections which would provide a new National Assembly no longer dominated by the Right and extreme Right, as the present one is, but by the Socialists. At any rate, Guy Mollet, the Socialist leader, is now among the most wholehearted supporters of the Yes vote. One story current here today is that de Gaulle has suggested a return to some form of proportional representation assuring a left-of-center Parliament.

Many of these reports are not

taken too seriously. What is certain is that de Gaulle is now fully conscious that his most determined enemies are no longer on the Left (not even among the Communists), but on the Right. And with the Rightists, de Gaulle does not hesitate to be rough, even to the point of "illegality." I could not but be amused by the press conference to which M. Jacques Soustelle invited only the British and American press, and at which he bitterly complained of the "illegal and undemocratic" way in which his political group had been debarred from both radio and TV during the referendum campaign. Technically, M. Soustelle's complaint was undoubtedly justified, but coming from the man who had defied "legality" in May, 1958, by joining the revolt in Algeria, and whose conduct as Minister of Information was very far from being "democratic," it was hardly impressive.

AMONG FRENCH intellectuals, the attitude toward de Gaulle is mainly hostile. It is significant that M. Beuve-Méry, the influential editor of the *Monde*, who supported de Gaulle in 1958, should now complain bitterly of the General's "trickery," his "shilly-shallying," his unwillingness to commit himself openly to negotiations with the FLN. Other "intellectual" journals also tend either to support the No vote, or abstention.

But to what extent they will affect the ordinary voter is another matter. For one thing, the majority of Frenchmen were impressed by de

Gaulle's extraordinary personal courage in mixing with the hostile European mobs in Algeria. And, of course, in the minds of most Frenchmen, the same old question arises today as it did in 1958: if not de Gaulle, who? So the most common forecast is that while the General will not again get the 80 per cent popular vote he won in 1958, he will get at least 60 per cent — and perhaps as much as 70 per cent if he commits himself publicly to resuming talks with the FLN at an early date. Most prognosticators calculate that the number of abstentions will be much higher than the 15 per cent of 1958.

These calculations are for France itself. How will Algeria vote? Here we are completely in the dark, except that we know that the great bulk of the Europeans will vote No. But what about the Moslems, who form 90 per cent of the population? It was easy for the Army, in 1958, to drag the Moslems to the polling places and virtually order them to vote Yes. Today the Moslems are less malleable. Moreover, will the Army exploit its power as enthusiastically for de Gaulle as it did in 1958?

The present instructions of the Algerian Provincial Government are for the Moslems to boycott the referendum. But, while most Moslems are undoubtedly in sympathy with the FLN, there appears to be a considerable pro-de Gaulle sentiment among them, based on their conviction that he is "moving in the right direction." Will many Moslems, despite the pleas of their organized leaders, vote Yes in the belief that by so doing they are casting an indirect vote for the FLN?

It would be extremely awkward for de Gaulle, of course, if the European No votes, plus the Moslem abstentions, add up to a loss in Algeria. But if all else fails, there will probably be ways of avoiding such a fiasco; as Marshal Juin said, while giving evidence at the recent "barricades trial," elections in Algeria have always been "arranged." So, until further notice, it may be assumed that de Gaulle will win both in France and in Algeria. What is really important is what he intends to do with his victory.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

January 7, 1961

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Sanctification of Darwin

EVOLUTION AFTER DARWIN. Edited by Sol Tax. Vol. I: "The Evolution of Life: Its Origin, History and Future." 628 pp. \$10. Vol. II: "The Evolution of Man: Man, Culture and Society." 473 pp. \$10. Vol. III: "Issues in Evolution." 310 pp. \$7.50. University of Chicago Press.

Gertrude Himmelfarb

WITH refreshing candor, the editor of the present volumes describes their origin. He was attending a conference four years ago when, musing about how much he liked conferences and happening to hear the name of Darwin mentioned, it occurred to him that the forthcoming centenary of the publication of the *Origin of Species* would provide an admirable subject for such a gathering. An encyclopedia conveniently at hand elicited the information that the *Origin* had been published on November 24, 1859—a good time for a conference, he reflected, the school year being well under way and the holidays safely in the distance. And what more suitable sponsor than his own institution, the University of Chicago? Founded, he hastily calculated, ten years after Darwin's death and enjoying not the remotest connection with Darwin or Darwiniana, the university would patiently have only the most disinterested of motives. Thus, out of a pure love for conferences and from the good fortune that Darwin's book was published in November rather than October or December, twenty-five hundred scientists and social scientists assembled in Chicago late in 1959, when the Darwin Centennial Celebration was duly held.

It is instructive to compare this event with an earlier, similar one. Fifty years ago, Cambridge University, where Darwin had been a student, was also moved to observe the anniversaries of his birth and of the publication of the *Origin*. The differences between the observances then and now, between the single volume of Commemoration issued then and the three volumes of Celebration issued now, suggest that appreciation has degenerated

into panegyric, and congratulation into self-congratulation. "Future historians," Sir Julian Huxley opened his convocation address in Chicago, "will perhaps take this Centennial week as epitomizing an important critical period in the history of this earth of ours—the period when the process of evolution, in the person of inquiring man, began to be truly conscious of itself." The conference, it would seem, was not only *about* the theory of evolution; it was itself a notable step forward in human evolution. One wonders whether Darwin would have been more flattered or more outraged by so immodest a thought.

THIS "critical" period into which he was ushering us, Sir Julian made clear, was critical in the sense of decisive or crucial—comparable to the period 300 million years ago when our amphibian ancestors started to emerge from the water. Neither Sir Julian nor Professor Tax, the organizer and editor, would be inclined to invoke the sense of "critical" implied by the phrase, "the critical spirit." The commemorative volume published in Cambridge fifty years ago was critical in this latter sense—not hostile or even, except very occasionally, unfavorable, but genuinely disinterested, open-minded and inquiring. In contrast, the present volumes seem aggressively dogmatic. Darwinism, we are now adjured, is no longer a theory at all. It is a fact, a "demonstrated empirical fact." We have only to work out the status of this fact in "all aspects of reality," from the atoms and stars, plants and animals, to history, society, culture and mind.

The array of subjects and specialists is formidable. Papers on cosmology, genetics, botany, zoology, paleontology, anthropology, psychology, linguistics and philosophy flaunt the words "evolution" or "Darwinism" in their titles. And they make a brave, if sometimes forced, attempt to carry out the promise of their titles. But the imprecision of the idea of evolution so conceived, and above all its often remote relationship to the doctrine expounded by Darwin, make one wonder if the effort was really worthwhile. This is not intended as a criticism of all or even of most of the contributions. In their own right, and divorced from the context in which they

appear, most of the papers—particularly in the first volume on the physical and natural sciences—are unexceptionable monographs by some of our most distinguished scientists. But science and the history of science, as is well known, are widely disparate orders of knowledge, and it is not to be expected that the research scientist should inquire too closely into the genesis and precise nature of a doctrine that bears upon his own work only peripherally and, often, analogically. He need not concern himself with the fact that evolution is not, after all, identical with Natural Selection; that the test of Darwinism, if the concept is to have any precise meaning, is not merely in the evolution of all inorganic and organic forms but specifically in their evolution by Natural Selection; or that even Darwin, finding Natural Selection inadequate in several crucial areas, abandoned it in these instances in favor of alternative theories. Nor need he concern himself with the logic and empirical status of Natural Selection *per se*: he is content to use it when and in whatever sense it suits him, if indeed he uses it at all. At least, this is the situation in practice. But, away from his laboratory, confronted with the exigencies of a conference, the scientist graciously assumes the proper celebrating manner. Given the set theme, he conscientiously attempts to relate his work to what he knows or assumes to be Darwinism.

THE anthropologists and social scientists who make up the bulk of the second volume are especially effusive in tribute to Darwin and especially diffuse in their notion of Darwinism. Natural Selection recedes far into the background as Darwin is eulogized in terms that might apply as well, perhaps better, to Heraclitus or Hegel: for having "channeled thought on the problem of becoming," or for "his role in establishing the idea that change or historicity is inherent in all phenomena." One can sympathize with the contributor who innocently observed that some of the meanings attached by his colleagues to cultural evolution "are so disparate that they are hardly even in conflict." There have been attempts to take Darwinism seriously, literally, as an explanation of cultural and social history; a contemporary of Darwin, Walter Bagehot, did as much as could be done along this line. But it is generally agreed

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that *Physics and Politics* was the only lapse in an otherwise brilliant *oeuvre*. None of the present contributors quite matches up to it.

No one with a sense of either history or science can fail to be offended by such extravagances as: "Until 1859, all sciences were essentially static"; or, "The fact and concept of evolution was bound to act as the central germ or living template of a new dominant thought organization." Nor does the insistence upon calling Darwinism a "fact" rather than a theory help the case; the attempt thus to coerce belief is itself cause for suspicion. The truth is that Darwinism is beset by a variety of difficulties and problems that cannot be easily dismissed. Only a few can be suggested here: the difficulty, for example, of formulating the concept of Natural Selection in other than a tautological manner (only the "fittest" survive and are selected, but the only definition or test of fitness is survival and selection); the dominance in neo-Darwinism of modern genetic theory rather than of Natural Selection; the failure of the fossil record to supply evidence at the crucial points; the amount of extrapolation and generalization involved in proceeding from the small instances of observable and provable transformations to the larger question of the origin of species and genera. (For the purposes of the geneticist, we are told, the fly *drosophila* is typical of all

"higher organisms"; and for the confirmed Darwinist the gradual darkening of a particular variety of moth in the sooty English midlands is empirical proof that all species and genera of all plant and animal life have originated in the same fashion.)

In the three volumes only one sustained critical voice may be heard. Professor Everett Olson of the University of Chicago, a geologist and editor of the journal *Evolution*, suggests that not all scientists subscribe to the views of Sir Julian Huxley and most of the other contributors to this symposium. There is, he maintains, a small group of vocal dissenters and a larger group of silent ones, who "say and write little because they are not particularly interested, do not see that controversy over evolution is of any particular importance, or are so strongly in disagreement that it seems futile to undertake the monumental task of controverting the immense body of information and theory that exists in the formulation of modern thinking." The quarrel, Professor Olson maintains, is not with evolution conceived simply as the changes of organisms through successive generations of time; it is with the particular "synthetic theory" known as neo-Darwinism, which purports to combine genetic theory and natural selection into a doctrine that is passed off as fact. But the doctrine, he protests, is too elastic to be either proved or dis-

proved; and Natural Selection itself, he quotes another geneticist as saying, is a "wastebasket category." He concludes with a plea to scientists not to pretend to know what is in fact still unknown, not to be committed to a system that might inhibit further inquiry: "Radical lines of investigation may open up new possibilities of approaching some of the problems that now seem untouchable, such as the problems of major steps in evolution. Just what directions these might take is uncertain, but it will require persons able to think in radical terms, outside the current framework, to undertake the early steps."

Hero for the Right

THE SPARE CHANCELLOR: The Life of Walter Bagehot. By Alastair Buchan. Michigan State University Press. 278 pp. \$5.

Keith Hutchison

THE LITTLE GROUP of political scientists who, with the blessing of *The Wall Street Journal*, are trying to revive academic conservatism, have picked Edmund Burke as their culture-hero. I suspect this is a misguided choice: Burke is too remote from our age and his eighteenth-century Irish eloquence too heavy for modern tastes. As a substitute I would like to suggest Walter Bagehot, the embodiment of robust English common sense who, a century later, expressed his conservatism in an idiom that has not yet lost its appeal.

There are signs, indeed, of a reviving interest in this English publicist who was first introduced to America by Woodrow Wilson. Norman St. John-Stevenson recently brought out a new edition of his *English Constitution* and other political writings; and now we have Mr. Buchan's well-written book which combines biography with a sympathetic, though not uncritical, study of his ideas.

Bagehot started his career in a family bank while contributing to "the reviews" as an avocation. He became a power in mid-Victorian England when he took over the editorship of *The Economist* in 1859. Serving as a link between "The City" and Downing Street, he was once described by Gladstone as "a sort of supplementary Chancellor of the Exchequer," a phrase which is the inspiration of Buchan's title.

Bagehot came to manhood toward the

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The Glen of Silence

*By this cold shuddering fit of fear
My heart divines a presence here,
Goddess or ghost:
"Wrecker of homes. . . ."*

Where have I heard a silence before
Like this that a lone bird's cries
And the sound of a brawling burn today
Serve in this wide empty glen but to emphasize?

Every doctor knows it — the stillness of foetal death,
The indescribable silence over the abdomen then!
A silence literally "heard" because of the way
It stands out in the auscultation of the abdomen.

Here is an identical silence, picked out
By a bickering burn and a lone bird's wheeple
—The foetal death in this great "cleared" glen
Where the *fear-thollandh nan tighem* has done his foul work
—The tragedy of an unevolved people.

HUGH MACDIARMID

Notes: "Wrecker of homes" is *Aeschylus'* phrase in *The Seven* against Thebes. It is translated into Scottish Gaelic in line 16. A "cleared" glen is one affected by the Highland Clearance when the people were driven off the land to make way for sheep or the reservation of huge tracts for deer forests and grouse moors.

end of the "Hungry Forties." He died at the early age of fifty-one in 1877. Thus his career almost exactly coincided with the mid-Victorian era of relative opulence that ended with the onset of the great depression in 1873. Among the many British notables of this period, none is more typical than Bagehot.

POLITICALLY, he called himself a "liberal conservative" but in fact was slightly to the right of center. His classic treatise, *The English Constitution*, while mildly iconoclastic, was fundamentally an attempt to show why the system worked and why any radical change in it was undesirable. He was opposed to the Reform Act of 1867, which extended the franchise to the urban working classes, because he thought a necessary preliminary was mass education. As a very young man he had written in a review of Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*: "The only effectual security against the rule of an ignorant, miserable, and vicious democracy, is to take care that the democracy be educated, and comfortable, and moral." What he did not realize was that his humane instincts were not shared by a majority of the ruling classes and that attainment of political power by the workers was a condition precedent to their securing educational opportunities and improved living conditions.

But although Bagehot was conservative, he was not reactionary. He was never an extreme *laissez-faire*st: he did not believe, like Herbert Spencer, that the sole function of the state was to protect life and property. He came to

admit the success of the Factory Acts; he defended trade unionism as a necessary means of equalizing the bargaining power between worker and owner; he advocated state education; he supported the income tax; he even tentatively approved nationalization of the railroads.

As Buchan says, "Burke's answer that we must venerate where we cannot comprehend," never satisfied Bagehot. He had a bump of veneration but his bump of curiosity was stronger. He was ever seeking to understand what made both persons and institutions tick, and then to explain the mechanism clearly and graphically. This urge inspired not only his political and economic writings, but the literary essays of his younger days, which are unimportant in their assessment of literary values but fascinating as studies of the mind in action.

Lord Bryce, a friend of his last years, said that Bagehot was "perhaps, the most original mind of his generation." This is clearly an overestimation. His strength was analysis and exposition rather than constructive thought. What he did originate, and what has proved an invaluable legacy, was a new style of editorial writing, a fluid, easy, almost colloquial style which superseded the old "thunderings" of *The Times* as a journalist model. In these days, when professional jargon is so horribly prevalent, a study of Bagehot's writing might well be included in compulsory English courses for students of politics, economics, sociology and journalism. If the new academic conservatives can achieve anything along these lines I, for one, will cheer them on.

sional." Rather, they are continually on display as victims: unwilling victims, helpless victims, victims with whom we sympathize and victims by default; but victims over and beyond whatever other identities they may take on. This should not seem surprising or preposterous to us if we remember that Mr. Schwarz-Bart's subject matter symbolizes nothing less than the habitual and calculated annihilation of countless millions who died for no other reason than that they were Jews.

THE well-known Yiddish novelist I. B. Singer (in a private interview) has gone so far as to say that he believes such a subject is not within the province of the literary imagination, since to be strictly objective would reveal a kind of cynicism and since the actual horror of the Chmelnicki massacres, the pogroms, and especially the death camps could never be adequately imagined. Presumably, an immensely self-conscious writer like Schwarz-Bart was also aware of the obscenity implicit in any pose of disinterest, for in choosing to be a partisan about Jewish persecution he has not allowed the reader to be so fascinated by the various instrumentalities of death as to lose sight of those innocents who perished. Here then is a writer whose sensitivity and talent have been directed. He wants to recall, tries to evoke and to dramatize the past; at the same time he eulogizes it as something that was brutally shattered for him.

Thus *The Last of the Just* will remain a valuable book even though it does not fully display all of the writer's obvious and still primitive talents with fiction. Beginning with the twelfth-century persecutions at York, its first twenty pages encompass 700 years and numerous generations of the family Levy, yet only the most cursory details are used to develop the unique bleakness of communal attitudes, the solemn religiosity, the texture of lives adorned with endless precedents to which Schwarz-Bart's proverbial style can sometimes lead a sharp irony, as when he writes of one Levy martyr: "His death fulfilled everybody's expectations."

But the major portion of *The Last of the Just*, although equally instructive, is not history summarized; it is fiction—fiction devoted in quite remarkable detail to the three generations of Levys who preceded the Nazi holocaust. For the most part, the writing here is in the great tradition of European dynastic novels. There is a concern for relationships and behavior, a sense of individual psychology, a sense of the pathos of the would-be adolescent martyr as well as

Continuity of Martyrdom

THE LAST OF THE JUST. By André Schwarz-Bart. Translated from the French by Stephen Becker. Atheneum Publishers. 374 pp. \$4.95.

Richard M. Eelman

THE LAST OF THE JUST is a pageant of Jewish persecution which only coincidentally bears a resemblance to fiction as we in our century have come to understand and appreciate it. Author André Schwarz-Bart so crudely mixes the methods of the novelist and the historian that his narrative lacks the deliberate pace of fiction as well as the strict

coherency of history; yet there emerges from the work as a whole a powerful theme, the continuity of the Jewish experience of martyrdom, which underlies every other assumption of the novel. It is stated explicitly as early as the book's first paragraph when Schwarz-Bart writes: "Our eyes register the light of dead stars. A biography of my friend Ernie could easily be set in the second quarter of the twentieth century, but the true history of Ernie Levy begins earlier. . . ."

This then is not a novel for the purist; it does not fit the specifications of the "well-constructed" work of art; very few members of the legendary family of "just men" (the *Lamed-Vovniks*), of whom Ernie Levy was doomed to be the last descendant, could be described as "autonomous" or even "three dimen-

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a sense of the homeliness of domestic life. In sharp contrast to the almost demonic pace of the book's concluding sections in which Ernie Levy, "the last of the just," is led into the gas chambers at Auschwitz (consenting to everything finally, even death), the series of touching vignettes of life in the *shtetle* (the small towns of the pale) and later in assimilationist Germany are what affirm our sense of continuity.

I know of very few books that concentrate with such undiminished vigor on the kind of life that preceded the Nazi holocaust; too often everyday things are overlooked because they must

seem irrelevant now to a generation for whom the larger-than-life figures of men like Dr. Mengele still cast their shadows over everything: the past, the present, even the future. But what one retains after reading André Schwarz-Bart is a feeling that Judaism could never be described with the hyperboles of National Socialism; that it has always been something remote and yet very close at hand; something still real to many people, dislocated and dispersed around the world; and that the foremost madness of the Nazis was to think that the history of such a people could end at Auschwitz.

ART in PARIS

Maurice Grosser

THE particularly wet Paris winter—it has been raining steadily since the 14th of July—is also distinguished by some extraordinary exhibitions. The Petit Palais, with the help of the Italian Government, is showing a splendid array of the eighteenth-century Italian painters. The Louvre has opened its new top-floor galleries with some seven hundred pictures drawn from its reserves—pictures which changes in taste or lack of wall space had hitherto consigned to the cellars. Most exciting of all, the show that has all Paris talking hangs at the Musée de l'Art Moderne—paintings, posters, architecture, furniture and decoration done between 1884 and 1914, and chosen to illustrate "The Sources of the Twentieth Century."

The Italian show somewhat surprises the French, who are apt to think that they own the eighteenth century. The great novelty here is the genre painting of the Neopolitan Gaspare Traversi, beautifully executed, full of good humor, caricature and tenderness. I particularly remember a picture of a not very seriously *Wounded Man*, just in from a street brawl, his scratches being treated by a pretentious doctor and a very pretty maid. There is a room of Piranesi's *Ruins* and *Prisons*, a number of Pannini's highly detailed views of court ceremonies in Rome, and fine Magnascos of monks leading their insect-like communal life. The Venetians make up more than half the show. There are the best Piazzettas I have seen, of pretty ladies with their parasols and lovely clothes and doll-like faces; a complete display of the landscapes of Canaletto, Belotto and Guardi; and wonderful Tiepolos, both father and son.

The Louvre's exhibit falls sharply into

two sections—old masters and the nineteenth century. The galleries of the older painting are crowded and difficult to inspect—too many pictures on too many tiers. Despite the presence of many fine things, the general effect is of an exposition day at a public auction. The nineteenth-century galleries, on the other hand, are a delight, with all sorts of things one remembers with affection from the Louvre of other times. There are wonderful portraits by David; *La Source* of Ingres, so sweet and shy and plump, and his *Oedipus* and the *Sphinx* where Oedipus with jaw-line beard and delicately muscled feet resembles a Beaux Arts student consulting his professor. There is the well-remembered portrait of two sisters by Chassériau and Whistler's mother looking very content to be home again in the mild Paris damp. There are any number of Delacroix and almost fifty Corots of all periods, even including his wall decorations for a bathroom. The Daubigny landscapes stand up beautifully. The Rousseaus and Diazes now seem less good. There are beautiful small Millets along with those two popular favorites *The Gleaners* and *The Angelus*, which both turn out to be as awful as one remembers. There is even a small collection of Impressionists. It is all very pleasant and instructive.

CONSIDERABLY more impressive is "The Sources of the Twentieth Century" at the Musée de l'Art Moderne. This show is without doubt the best thing of the sort ever done. It is enormous—like a world's fair exhibit—and covers the whole field of advanced art from the middle of the eighties to the beginning of the First World War. The period is defined as one goes in (through

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By Maud Wood Park **\$4**

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a Paris Metro station entrance by Hector Guimard in the *Art Nouveau* style) by a mural-size photograph of the Eiffel Tower still in construction. The displays of architecture and decoration are particularly successful and complete, with examples of furniture and models and photographs of buildings by everybody from the Scotch Mackintosh to the Catalan Gaudi. It is the first time I have seen the *Art Nouveau* exhibited without comic effect. The German furniture on display, one cannot deny, is hideously ugly. But the French versions, by Gallé, Majorelle, Guimard and the others, prove to be rich, solid, comfortable, of a workmanship unknown today, and not in any way funny.

The most impressive part of the show, however, is the painting. It is all there—from the Impressionism of Monet and Degas to the beginnings of Dada in Duchamp and Picabia—and not only from the School of Paris, which one expects, but from all the rest of Europe as well: the Italian Pointillists and Futurists; the Nordic followers of Gauguin and of the Symbolists (the inept Willumsen with his hand-carved frames, and Ensor and Munch and August Strindberg, better known as dramatist than as painter); and two rooms of German Expressionists, the finest I have ever seen. Along with this goes a sumptuous display of commercial and theatrical posters by everybody from Mucha and Cheret to Lautrec and Villon.

Looked at in detail, the painting offers frequent surprises. The greatest, perhaps, is how badly the Cézannes show up. Perhaps the white walls of the museum, so flattering to decorative painting, are too harsh for Cézanne's dark tonalities. The *Cirque* by Seurat is even more dead in color—perhaps it has now faded—and its execution seems both tedious and amateurish.

On the other hand, the painting of Van Gogh and of Odilon Redon—usually not my particular favorites—shine out like jewels, second only to the extraordinary display of Gauguins. Gauguin's companions, Sérusier and Emile Bernard, whom I have not hitherto seen, are also there. Bernard, so much a figure in the Van Gogh and Gauguin letters, turns out to be quite bad, as does the once-celebrated mural painter, Puvis de Chavannes. The display of Fauves is splendid and complete, my favorite being a reclining nude by Van Dongen, and there is a spectacular room of Bonnard, Vuillard and the other *Nabis*. There are early blue pictures by Picasso and by his Catalan friend, Nonell y Monturiol who died at twenty-nine;

early and unmannered Modiglianis; all the Cubists, including an astonishing Léger with pieces of looking glass set in; all the Italian Futurists with their breath-taking complexity; the Duchamp *Nude* and the Mondrian *Tree*; along with the Douanier Rousseau's big *Serpent Charmer* which, to my great surprise, seems in no way out of place here, and not even naive.

NEVERTHELESS, from all this vigor and variety and fecundity one carries away some very curious impressions: First, of a movement uniquely devoted to the pursuit of novelty and the exploitation of mannerism. The second impression is even more disturbing. Is it possible that modern art came to an end with the beginning of the First World War? Certainly little new has since been added to the work shown here. Surrealism and Neo-Romanticism, which came after the war, were extensions of subject matter rather than advances in technique. And the ideas and practices which serve Abstract Expressionism were present in the sources of Dada.

At any rate the modern school in France seems sad enough today, if one is to believe the Galerie Charpentier's show entitled "School of Paris 1960." This, though it was selected by a group of best known critics, might be a sampling from any current official salon. There are a few crude or mannered representational works, some rather more skillful Crypto-Impressionist paintings (the subject of the picture half-readable through an abstract overlay), along with a great many pure abstractions in the various known modes—the most original being an unsigned flesh-pink canvas slashed with five vertical strokes of a razor blade.

Titillatingly cruel as this may be, it seems scarcely worth the five new francs it costs to see it. I think I would like better the "contactual nudes," shown last summer at the Galerie Rive Droite. These I am very sorry to have missed; for, as I was later told by friends in Paris, the painter created them before a select audience at his *vernissage* by dipping live models in paint and rolling them on the canvas.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

YOU SHOULD remember if you see *In the Jungle of the Cities* by Bertolt Brecht (The Living Theatre) that it was written and first produced in 1923 when its author was twenty-five. The play is not a didactic piece nor an example of "epic theatre." I mention these catchwords because Brecht has been so much discussed in this country and so little seen that the easiest thing for a reviewer to do is to relate whatever Brecht play is presented—especially when it is so "peculiar" a piece as *In the Jungle*—to the labels with which the German dramatist has been frequently associated.

When he wrote this (his third) play Brecht's "political knowledge," he himself has said, "was disgracefully slight." Intellectually speaking, the play might be categorized as pessimistic anarchism, but it is not really proper to speak of this play ideologically. Pessimistic anarchism is not so much a philosophy as a state of mind, a mood. In fact, it hardly bears thought: one can make poetry with it—theatre, art or music—but one cannot reason with or live by it.

Still, it would not be altogether accurate to say that the play has no social significance. What Brecht probably meant by the statement quoted above—

and it is important to keep this in mind in view of his reputation—was that in the early days of his career he was not yet a Marxist nor allied with any political group or theory. But there had been a Spartacist (leftist) uprising in Germany in 1919 and everyone—particularly the young intellectuals—dwelt in its atmosphere.

In the Jungle reflects the kind of fevered and desperate climate that was lived in between 1919 and 1926 by young Germans who survived the First World War. It was an inferno of inflation, unemployment, profiteering, degradation, misery, vice and morbid ferment. (The emblem of this era is to be found in George Grosz's caricatures.) And just as someone said that, after writing *Against the Grain*, Huysmans would have had either to commit suicide or seek the grace of the Church, so a sensitive German artist at the time of Brecht's beginning seemed to have little choice except that of flight in the direction of the extreme Left or toward the abyss on the Right. The Center was weak and had little support from the masses, who suffered in depressed confusion while the European democracies wallowed in treacherous ignorance, har-

boring the hope that the German national abscess which produced Nazism would infect the Soviet Union only.

One of the characteristic artistic movements after the war of 1914-18 (together with expressionism in the theatre) was Dada. It was a sort of spiritual stink bomb hurled by exasperated youth at the heads of the sluggish bourgeoisie. *In the Jungle*, which quotes verbatim several passages from Rimbaud's *A Season in Hell* (a romantic forebear of the postwar rebels), is sprung on many of the impulses which motivated Dadaism.

IT IS useful to refer to all this in order to understand Brecht's play, which is clearly a product of its time. But the play is not to be understood literally. We must feel it as we feel (and interpret) certain "difficult" modern poems.

The plot of *In the Jungle* is strangely violent. Though it has a seemingly logical progression, it resembles a montage of disparate images and speeches which add up to nightmare. The author tells us that we are in Chicago in 1912—a wholly "mythical" Chicago—and that we are to observe an inexplicable combat between two men whose motives will never be clearly explained. One of the men, the wealthy "Mr. Schlink of Yokohama," begins by attempting to buy an opinion from a young man "from the prairie" who works in a book shop. When the young man refuses to sell his opinion, the book shop is wrecked by the Asiatic's criminal henchman: "Chicago gangsters." The young man vows vengeance, but the Asiatic retaliates by bribing the young man with the gift of a prosperous lumber business! The boy takes over the enterprise and runs it in the most ruinously fraudulent manner. We are off now to a series of madly extravagant events—each of which is "simple" enough in itself, but the total meaning of which is somehow elusive.

It appears that the young man and his tormentor (who makes himself into the boy's "slave") are bound together in a sort of homosexual love-hate relationship. I am inclined to understand the play as symbolizing the struggle between capital and labor, ruler and ruled, master and vassal—seen as a hysterical poet, attracted even by what he loathes (as Brecht in those days was spellbound by the evil that permeated everything in his world), might view it. I may be entirely mistaken about this: it doesn't matter. What matters—apart from Schlink's suicide and the young man's "escape"—is the sense of agony the play communicates. Its world is a place of mutual and universal torture, of aloneness for each individual. Its catechism

reads: "It will get worse; it will get worse; it will get worse." There are moments of Teutonic bathos, but for the most part the writing is mordantly eloquent as well as grotesquely witty.

For Brecht to become Brecht—the classicist who espoused common sense and faith in human reason—it was necessary for him to pass through this phase. The last lines of the play—"To be alone is a good thing. The chaos is used up now. It was the best time."—suggests that there was a certain purification in the poet's struggle within his own and his society's corruption. Having gone through it, he may move forward to some less damaging experience and arrive at some saner knowledge. But the chaos comes first.

To articulate such a play satisfactorily on the stage demands not only consummate craft but a cast—even an audience—attuned to the deep inner and outer turmoil the play represents. It is not to be expected that the producers and actors of The Living Theatre should possess these qualifications. Their virtue is in their ambition. And there are people in our town—more numerous than we suppose—who will be fascinated by *In the Jungle*, or at least happier to puzzle over it than to be lucid about the safe commodities proffered elsewhere.

FILMS

Robert Hatch

THE BRITISH film, *The Angry Silence*, written by Bryan Forbes, starred in by the excellent actor, Richard Attenborough, and produced by the two of them, is a bitter, ugly counterpart to the farcical *I'm All Right, Jack*. As I said when I reviewed the earlier picture, the material does not seem to me to lend itself to a frivolous approach, and I am more comfortable with the Forbes-Attenborough savagery. Though this picture also has shortcomings.

The subject of *The Angry Silence* is labor trouble in a Midlands mill; but the theme is the price in conformity we pay for security and the orderly functioning of our very complex way of life. Or as Tom, Attenborough's hero, puts it: "I mean to say, if nobody can't be different, what's the use?" The weakness of the picture is that it loads the dice all over the lot. First of all, it introduces a lean-faced, bespectacled Cassius sort of chap, who appears to be an agent for a "foreign power," and who is fomenting labor trouble to snarl the defense effort. I take it that the

film's sponsors do not care to admit that solid British working men could behave like fools and villains unless worked on by the infinitely subtle Paylovians of Moscow. Then, too, it portrays all the exponents of obedience to the mass will as stupid, cowardly or wicked, which in reality is not the way most of them are; and it resolves the conflict by decreeing that one of the cowards shall suddenly find courage, which happens so rarely in life as to be arbitrarily sentimental in fiction. In

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short, I did not believe the story line.

But the spectacle of what happens to a man who today holds out against what he believes to be the sheep-like acquiescence of his fellows is brilliantly and horribly convincing. In this case, of course, the insane hatred is being whipped up by the Kremlin fellow, but we don't need agents. Remember New Orleans last month? We approach the point where the majority not only rules, but tyrannizes, and the details of Tom's persecution because he will not recognize a wild-cat strike called by his local—and which by union law he is not required to recognize—is vivid enough to make the guilty knowledge of one's own conformities prick like nettles. Tom is alone and defenseless in a crowd of enemies—he is a traitor and a nuisance, fair game for the town's knife-carrying hoodlums and only because he heeds his own conscience more than the voice of the mob. *The Angry Silence* works in

melodrama but the issue is not remote.

The picture was directed by Guy Green in the solid documentary style of British social movies. It is not conceived with much visual originality: the crowd shots, the depot and pub episodes, even the domestic interiors are all vaguely familiar. But the players are well-schooled and feel as though they know their way around a machine shop. I wish Forbes and Attenborough had denied themselves the Russian bogey and had screwed themselves up to admitting that the extermination of individuality in a mass society is more apt to be accomplished by men of good will than by dolts and knaves. But I'm glad they took the subject even as far as they did.

UNDER the direction of the young Mario Monicelli, a group of Italian eccentrics perpetrates in *The Big Deal on Madonna Street* a good-natured spoof on the French "scientific" crook film best exemplified by *Rififi*. The conspirators draw up an elaborate program of attack upon a pawnshop in the street of the title and assemble a formidable kit of tools for violating it. But mischances, which the observer may decide are self-induced, block every advance and the dawn finds them richer by one kitchen alarm clock.

Toto, lantern-jawed and swathed typically in an enormous muffler, is funny as the pedantic doctor of crime, and I enjoyed the rat-like foppishness of Tiberio Mugia, who played an absurdly peppery Sicilian obsessed with guarding the commercial value of his sister's virtue. Vittorio Gassman, a romantic hero by trade, is pleasantly dim-witted as an ex-prize fighter.

But the essential theme of *Big Deal* is stupidity and, like most borderline cases, these desperate adventurers tend to run in circles. There were passages where I thought the film was being rerun in the interest of economy. The slum neighborhood—a warren of high-flung galleries and precipitate alleys as narrow as slits—photographs with a charm I doubt it has in life, and the dialogue, largely a matter of inflection and gestures, is funny even to an audience whose knowledge of Italian is confined to *ciao*.

A PICTURE that evoked a good deal of enthusiastic sobbing over the holidays is *Tunes of Glory*, directed by Ronald Neame and starring Alec Guinness and John Mills. From it I gather that the atmosphere of an eminent Scottish regiment installed in its home garrison is not unlike what prevails in

The Road You Look For

Shake the ermine snow from your cloak,
Loosen your hair, lacquered with frost;
Blink the cold from your ice-blue eyes
Before you are lost.

Lost, in the whine of withering wind
Along winter fences of rusted wire;
The road you look for is still uncharted;
Come back to the fire.

The feathery flames are warm, gold
As goldenrod and the August sand.
Strip the gloves from your white fingers;
Take summer in hand:

The chip of glass like a smoky topaz,
The rose-brown of this rounded shell
Wherein the heart of the ocean rings,
And the harbor bell.

MARION LINEAWEAVER

a very stylish girls' academy—one where bitchiness underlies meticulous behavior and the most promising girls have rather a crush on the games mistress.

In this case the games mistress is Colonel Jock Sinclair, a red-haired, red-faced, up-from-the-ranks, whisky-pound-ing hero of El Alamein (Guinness), and the crisis comes when a new games mistress, the somewhat Presbyterian, go-by-the-book Colonel Basil Barrow (Mills), is sent to supplant him. Colonel Barrow doesn't appreciate "our little ways," he is ever so keen on proper form and none of the smart clique likes him a bit. In fact they are so mean to him that he retires to the washroom and blows his brains out.

Whereupon Jock Sinclair gives up the games mistress routine for a go at Macbeth. Conscience-stricken by the blood in the bathtub, he begins to hear voices and drums, and is last seen blubbing into his tam o'shanter. There is a tradition, going back at least to *Journey's End*, that asks us to admire the antics of great hairy soldiers who behave like green girls. Clinically, it has its alarming effectiveness, but the manufacturers of this sort of toffee are not clinical-minded; they want us to weep right along with their overwrought heroes.

Tunes of Glory is enlivened by some brief scenes with a pretty girl named Susannah York. She plays Sinclair's daughter and is inappropriately in love with a young piper. Miss Sinclair is the only principal character in the story who has her wits about her and her nerves under control, but though I stayed to the very end I never did learn how her problem worked out. The picture ravel's out inconclusively in a general flinging of aprons over the head.

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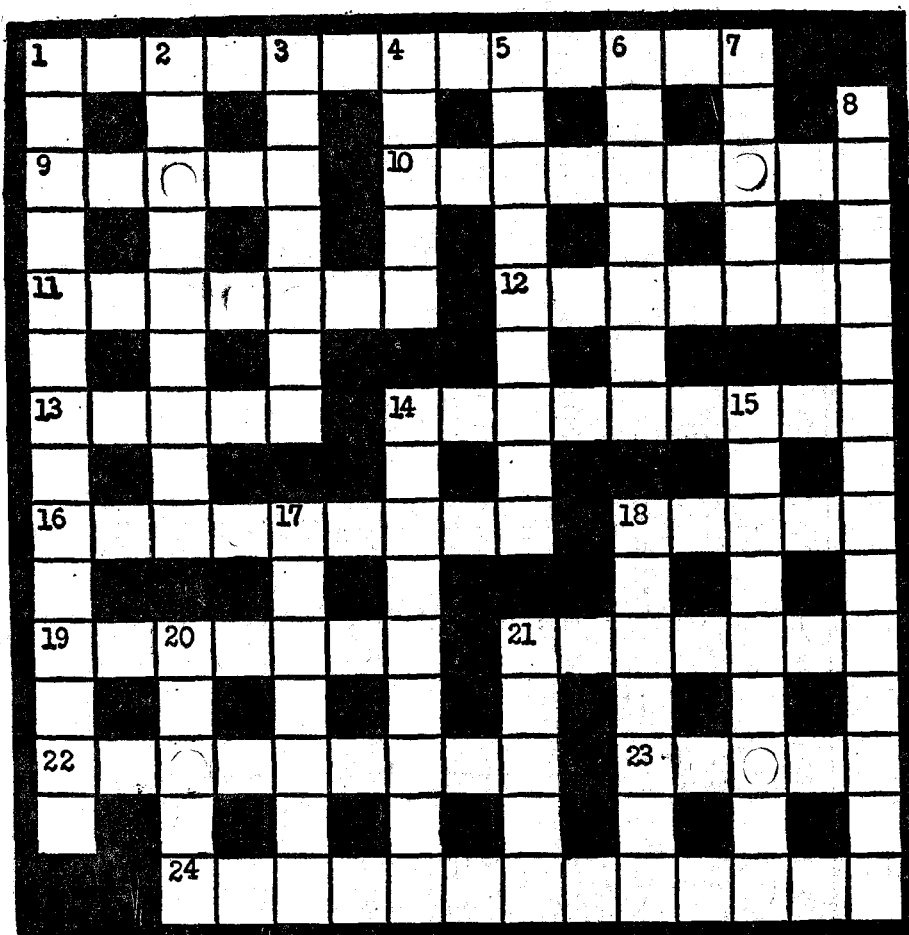
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Crossword Puzzle No. 897

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

- 1 Dish found at its peak in the service, if high grade. (9, 4)
- 9 Price-wise, likely to be lower, however. (5)
- 10 Never seen dillowing by Kipling. (9)
- 11 These are sometimes preferred by the injured. (7)
- 12 Such a shaker in the house is malt-associated. (7)
- 13 Oceans of water or gas? (5)
- 14 His epitaph marks him as sea sailor and hill hunter. (9)
- 16 It's not so easy to walk when you shift this to the grip. (9)
- 18 Presses, but not among the woods. (5)
- 19 Put back one material with another. (7)
- 21 Having no fixed role in getting past a ticket office. (7)
- 22 Does it imply one loves to have trouble with the food supply? (9)
- 23 See 2 down
- 24 A foreign gentleman, sent to obtain what we were told to avoid. (13)

DOWN:

- 1 Spring water for the writer? (6, 8)
- 2 and 23 across Going over again to take away an arm? (9, 5)
- 3 Are Migs as difficult to pin down as flying saucers? (7)

- 4 Doesn't follow in the groove, when it comes to pencils. (5)
- 5 Bar a play, in part, with such material. (9)
- 6 Reason this, according to Hamlet. (7)
- 7 Do no females come out of this town? (5)
- 8 Is Lassie such a stand-out, even though unhappy? (7, 7)
- 14 The Yugoslavian type is just untidy to a Scotchman! (9)
- 15 What a club dancer sometimes does by way of display for an aficionado? (6, 3)
- 17 The British trolley sounds like wood painting. (7)
- 18 Temporary. (7)
- 20 It takes more than an amateur to exist as an explorer. (5)
- 21 Destroy the force of one zero, by the sound of it. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 896

ACROSS: 1 Solemnities; 9 Anathema; 10 Maenad; 11 Gangway; 12 and 26 Trading stamps; 14 French; 15 Allopath; 17 Replaced; 20 Faster; 22 Crucial; 24 Emporia; 27 Cinnabar; 28 Blockbuster. DOWN: 2 Octagonal; 3 Eyelash; 4 Neat; 5 Tumbrel; 6 Emend; 7 Unfair; 8 Garnet; 16 Pastorate; 18 Errata; 19 Classic; 20 Foments; 21 Elijah; 23 Camel; 25 and 13 Scabbards.

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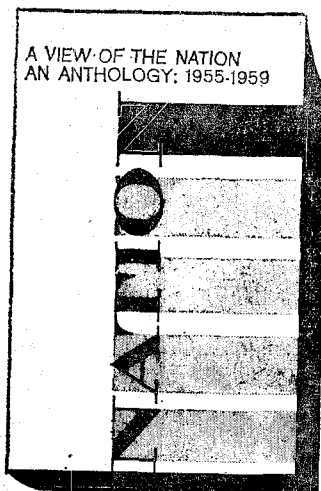
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